

1: Karsten--226-227
116, 553, 828, 852

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"On the occasion of naming the child its hair, which at birth is almost fair, is dyed with a solution prepared of the fruit genipa (Genipa americana), called sua by the Jivaros, and the root of a plant called piripiri, so that the hair becomes completely black. The genipa fruit yields the black dye with which the Indians paint their body on certain ceremonial occasions and, mixed with the solution prepared of the piripiri root, it is [227] supposed to strengthen the hair. In the case of a newborn child it is believed, in general, to strengthen its constitution and to protect it against evil influences."

l: Karsten--227
116, 553, 304, 852

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"On the same occasion [JKM: when the child is named] the old man or woman pierces the ear-lobes of the child with a thorn and a small stick is inserted into the hole so as to prevent the wound from closing. Later the holes are more and more extended for the insertion of the ear-tubes when the boy or girl is received among the full-grown persons. Female children have also the nether lip perforated, but this operation is not done until the girl is 6 to 8 years old."

1: Karsten--229 [3]
116, 862, 784, 852

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The Indian women suckle their children for a far longer time than is customary among civilized peoples, often for two or three years, or even longer. If the parents fast well during these years, strictly keeping the rules prescribed by custom in other respects also, the child will develop rapidly, get healthy, vigorous, and robust. When the fasting ends, the parents make a special feast for the little one, the 'feast of the children', at which a magical medicine is given it by an old man or woman. With this feast the first period of the education of the child ends. Should the parents neglect all these rules, should they not fast well and make no feast, the result would be that the child would not grow and develop well but soon pine away and die."

l: Karsten--234 [2]

116, 262, 784, 852

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The first period in the education of the child, ... is that between birth and the 'feast of the children', which is held when the little one is two or three years old. Until that feast has taken place both parents have to submit themselves to the most rigorous diet according to the rules mentioned in the last chapter. Dieting, it should be understood, forms part of the actual preparations for the feast. The rest of the preparations are similar to those for other feasts: as usual, new plantations have to be made, and domestic animals, swine and hens, have to be bred before the feast can be held, which of course takes a long time. The child itself has to diet; above all it is not allowed to eat pork and hen's flesh, nor can it eat ripe plantain or chew sugar cane as Indian children usually do."

1: Karsten--234-235
116, 852, 862

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The 'feast of the children' is called Uchiáuratai or Uchiáuka. Uchiáuratai (áur-atahei) is literally: 'I will give (the child) drops of tsinsimba'. The very name indicates that the medicine prepared from the plant tsinsimba, which was given to the child immediately after it was born, also plays the most important part at the 'feast of the children'. As we have already seen, the leaves of the plant are chewed and mixed with saliva by the old man or woman who acts as a priest or priestess; this medicine has a particular name: ambára. It is ceremonially dropped into the child's mouth twice during the two days that the feast proper [235] lasts, early in the morning and at noon. Drinking manioc-beer and eating also form part of the 'feast of the children'. Its general significance is the same as that of other great feasts: mysterious powers above all power to resist evil spirits--are believed to be imparted to the young child, not only for the time being but especially for the future. This power is chiefly due to the magical properties ascribed to the tsinsimba plant itself, but naturally also to the saliva of the old man or woman, the incantations, etc. After it is over the father is no longer obliged to diet, at least not so rigorously as hitherto, and the child is allowed to eat any kind of food. It definitely ceases to be a sucking-child and is henceforward reckoned among the bigger children."

I: Karsten--235[2]
116, 852, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"When the first teeth of the child get loose, they are not thrown away but carefully kept on the roof of the house 'in order that the rats or other animals may not eat them'. This custom is due to the belief in a mysterious connection between the child and the detached teeth."

3: Simson--388
116, 796, 276, 852

(No date) 1880

Jivaro

"Amongst the Gualaquiza Jívaros, whom I had no opportunity of visiting, however, great festivities are held when a child is, at three or four years of age, initiated into the art and mysteries of smoking.* All the family is gathered together; and the eldest member then makes an oration in which he especially dwells upon the valour and glorious example to be witnessed in the lives of the child's ancestors and actual grown-up relations, the number of enemies they have slain, and so forth. The hope is then expressed that the representative of the new generation in the family may follow these meritorious footsteps, and after the manner of his forefathers prove himself a brave warrior. The address delivered, the pipe is then handed to the poor little fellow; and after he has taken a few whiffs, all the elders puff seriously in turn, and then wind up the proceedings by disporting themselves in chicha drinking, in celebration of the momentous event."

*"This strange and interesting custom was related to me by my friend, the Rev. Padre Pozzi, who resided as a missionary amongst these Indians for some years."

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as he believed without recourse to the beliefs regarding spirit, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of soul are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam* *wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *wasani*, or *acquired* soul. The third to be dealt with is the *akhi* *wakani*, the "spirit," "soul," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL

Arutam *wakani* is perhaps best referred to as the "sacred spirit" soul. The term "*arutam*" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "*Wakani*" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the *arutam* *wakani* is the particular kind of soul which produces the *arutam* or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-looming menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possession of a single *arutam* soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by surgery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.⁸ In other words, a person who has even only one *arutam* soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls cannot die of any cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain *arutam* souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that since tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a five day's travel. It is believed to be the residence of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,⁹ and await the appearance of an *arutam* in the vision-sphere. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind lifting the tops of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out. 861

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135-43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves. [593] 861 276 787

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *mentemai* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *mentemai* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the [774] 276 774 773 787 852 • [855]

276 context of a four-day feast and dance, *uli auk* ("child swal-
 774 lowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls
 • 852 participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe die-
 778 tary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any
 787 mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the
 house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day
 the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tse-*
tsemā and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the
 adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and
 dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile,
 the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The
 same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing,
 774 from the Jivaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an
 778 *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to de-
 787 pend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp.
 [86] 135-39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is
 considered to compare in importance with the experience.
 The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in
 Jivaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since
 its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects
 of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and in-
 telligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the
 child.

462 Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual
 857 division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is
 868 not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any,
 [854] while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer
 in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep
 the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and
 [356] to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the
 house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of
 refuse.